2: Schaden--41 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

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291 177 132 Long before the present phase of acculturation, which has been going on for five or six decades perhaps, the continental climate of southern Mato Grosso, quite severe in the winter months, had already forced the Guaraní populations (mainly the Kayová) of the region to adopt garments in order to protect themselves against the inclement weather. The direct influence of Chaco tribes in this respect is undeniable.

291 [283] [462] [286] [386] The principal pieces of the traditional male clothing of the Kayová are three: the txiripá, the txumbé, and the ponchito. All of them are made of cotton fiber (mandydjú inimbó), produced by the Indians themselves. The work of spinning, dyeing, and weaving falls on the women. Nowadays, however, these artifacts of the Kayová Indian are becoming more and more rare. The present generation still remembers the time when many wore these garments, which are on the verge of disappearing. And it has not been very long ago that they were mandatory for anyone who wanted to participate in the dances and prayers. Paí Vitaliano in Dourados still displays them as a sacerdotal ornament for the celebration of the "baptism of the maize /Port. milho/" and other great solemnities, especially in the initiation of the boys. Among the Kayová of Amambai I heard it said that the boys, for their part, adorn themselves for the great ceremony with the traditional clothing of the tribe and with feather ornaments on the head and hands.

291 [192] The txiripá, which falls below the knee, giving the impression of a skirt, is a simple cloth of cotton thread, rectangular in shape and provided with fringes (ipotý) on three sides. The upper part (which does not have any fringe), folded back beforehand, in a width of half a span, goes around the waist, from right to left, turning in the front as far as the left hip, so as to cover the anterior part of the body doubly and the posterior part only once.

[114] [386] In all my visits to Kayová villages I found only one txiripá: that of Paí Vitaliano of Dourados. It is made of undyed cotton and measures some 140 by 75 centimeters; like all or almost all objects linked to the religious cult, it displays urucú /annatto/ stains by way of decoration.

/39 cont./

291 184 An Indian from Amambai once told me: "Kayová does not use txiripá in the middle of the legs, like the Baticola of Paraguay; he uses it thrown around his waist and fastened with txumbé." In Dourados, on the contrary, it was insisted that the txiripá and [192] the ponchito described above /40/ have always been linked with cult practices and that the ancient ones used, as common clothing, the tambéó, a band of cloth passed between the legs and caught around the waist with a piece of embira. Since the mention of the tambéó was spontaneous, it is probable that the garment had in fact existed in the Kayová culture. And it is certain, in any case, that the use of the txiripá and the ponchito is not very suitable for the toil of hunting or even of tillage.

291 [115] The Kayová tambéó, in disuse today, has been described to me by Marçal de Souza in the following way: "It is large, like a txiripá, but it is not given a turn and a half around the body; at the height of the left hip it is tied with a salient cord; it goes down a span and a half to the middle of the thigh."

291 294 The txumbé is a band of cotton woven in patterns sometimes very pretty. It is worn around the waist. The largest, handsomest, and best worked example that I have seen measures 209 centimeters long and 12 centimeters wide, with fringes of 40 centimeters at the two ends; I acquired it in the village of Panambi. The smallest one, made on order by a woman of Dourados, is scarcely 130 centimeters • [283] by 10 centimeters. The woof thread is always of white cotton, while the warp is of white and coloured thread. According to the information of Marçal de Souza from Dourados, the red and maroon colors 291 386 for dyeing cotton are extracted from two species of catiguá (katíguá 824 in Kayová, katiguá in Ñandéva); the yellow color is obtained from the wild mulberry or tajuva (tadiguá). One uses the inner bark of the catiguá and the pith of the tajuva, which are boiled together with the cotton threads already twisted. (According to the same 294 informant, not only the Kayová women, but Ñandéva women as 286 well weave or wove txumbé; the latter, moreover, made hammocks 352 of txumbé joined together laterally, as well as whole hammocks in 184 the same type of weaving, out of white cotton threads only or mixed with colored thread.) -- I often observed that the Kayová, lacking 291 a leather belt, secure their trousers with any band of cloth put around the waist in the manner of txumbé.

/40 cont./

292 293 [531] Aside from the txumbé, there is also a belt for exclusively ritual use, the klákuahá, richly decorated with ipotý, flowers of toucan feathers woven into the cloth itself; it may even be worn over the txumbé; it is given only one turn around the belly, and, to fasten it, the terminal fringes are tied in front.

291 [126] The ponchito is a small poncho of very tightly woven cotton. In 1950 I acquired from Paí Vitaliano a specimen with a width varying between 50 and 55 centimeters; the average length, 125 centimeters; /41/ central opening for the head, 30 centimeters. [286] Along the narrow ends, fringes (ipotý) 10 centimeters long, each one of two twisted threads of the warp itself, there are similar fringes in the central part of the cloth, distributed in four bundles, one to the right and one to the left of each one of the ends of the [283] central opening. The cloth is of thread of white cotton, except for two very narrow longitudinal bands of maroon color that run through it 291 from top to bottom. Onto each shoulder is sewed a circular piece 53 of toucan skin with yellow and orange feathers; on the chest, four 237 flowers of feathers trimmed with threads adorned with feathers, and four more on the back. One of the flowers of the front part, of yel- [192] low and orange toucan (tfkã) feathers and red canindé (kanindé) feathers, is called kurundúá; nandúá are the other flowers of toucan feathers, while the ornaments on the shoulders are called 291 ñemombáéhá. According to Paí Vitaliano, the latter are "imita- [114] tion of the things of Ñandedjára"; I have not obtained a translation of the different names, all "given by Ñandedjára himself." Paí Vitaliano's ponchito is no longer complete; it lacks, on the chest and on the back, an elongated cotton ornament, without feathers, 292 called iporavõhaguê. The care with which the ponchito is adorned 178 and the words with which the doctor-sorcerer refers to the symbolism 178 of the ornaments of plumes, relating them to the world of the gods, leaves no shadow of doubt about the religious significance of the piece. Although it has the shape of a common poncho in a smaller size, the ponchito, at least nowadays, is not common clothing, but has a ritual function. I only saw it used by doctor-sorcerers. Paí Chiquinho always put it on, by way of greeting, when I visited him

2: Schaden--75 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4
Kayová

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VI. Kayová-Guaraní woman from Amambai, spinning caraguatá fiber.

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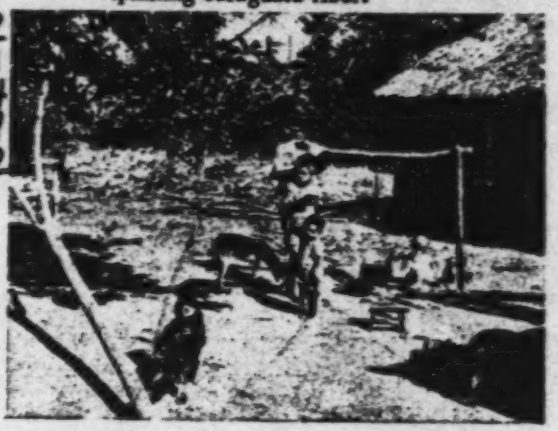

VII. Cooking in the open air among the Kayová-Guaraní of Dourados.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

133 the immense Rio Paraná some distance above its spectacular plunge over the great escarpment at Sete Quedas.

According to the meager data available on the topography of the region, the Cayuá of Mato Grosso live on plains and hilly uplands, varying between
132 some 1,000 to 1,500 feet above sea level. The climate is not often disagreeable, even for the newcomer, and has stimulating features.[20] It is characterized by a wet and a dry season. The dry season comes in the winter months, and its height is about July. For a few days during these months, although it does not snow (for lack of moisture), it is often bitterly cold, especially for the type of habitation and clothing common in the area to Indian and white alike. Occasionally in the morning the ground is covered with hoar frost. At the height of the rainy season, in December and January, the rain sometimes falls so fast that it is not readily soaked up by the ground; ponds are quickly formed in the low places, and roaring streams overflow their banks. Water holes and bogs appear during the rainy months where only dried mud was before. The frogs and other life forms seem to burst forth simultaneously. This is the growing season for the Cayuá planter.

137 The more general aspects of the flora of the region have been mentioned above in speaking of the three broad types of plant cover. The many varieties of trees to be found in their environment are the most important wild flora
[411] for the Cayuá. There are woods of extreme hardness for arrow points, flexible
[342] woods for bows, straight canes for arrow shafts,[21] *maté* trees, which the Cayuá
[417] also now use on a small scale, and many types of lianas and plants with strong, fibrous cortices for tieing, especially used in building houses and
[283] fences. The *caraguatá* cactus provides a good fiber for cordage and for certain
[342] textiles. There are numerous bushes and trees bearing wild fruits, and not to be overlooked is the *taquára*—strictly *taquaruçú*—a large bamboo with long, stout, straight trunks which serve the Cayuá admirably for many purposes
[262] including construction of houses, though never for fuel. The *pindó* palm provides leaves for cover, fibers for lines, and fruit, and its heart is, or was formerly, used to make an edible pounded meal.

136 The fauna of the Cayuá region include deer, *capiuara*, *anta* (*Tapirus americanus*, Briss.), *paca* (*Coelogenus paca*), *coatá* (*Tafazzu tafazzu*, Lin.), armadilloes, coati, and various smaller mammals. Several kinds of jaguar (from Tupi-Guarani *djaguareté*) and a wild dog, the *guará* (*Canis jubatus*), also roam the woods. Among the birds are included parrots, parroqueets, toucans (Tupi-Guarani *tukú*), vultures, several sorts of heron, and the *arapunga* (Portuguese: *Ferreiro do mato*), a never-to-be-forgotten, dull-colored little

[20] The cold of the winter seemed to annoy our Brazilian colleagues, both from warm Rio, more than the considerable heat of the summer troubled us North Americans.

[103] [21] One of these canes, the *taquapí* (*caña de Castilla*), gives its name to Taquapiri, the village studied.

3:Watson E-4.5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

Cayuá, and diadems, headbands, armbands, and feather collarpieces are mentioned.[88] It may also be supposed that the cotton or *caraguatá* belts, which are now so commonly used and prized by the Cayuá, were also formerly known. Métraux comments, in connection with the use of cotton and *caraguatá* as weaving materials, that the Cayuá are the only Tupí-Guaraní tribe to use indifferently cotton and other vegetable fibers for weaving.[89]

The Cayuá loom was the simple upright frame, with vertical posts planted in the ground. The top horizontal piece was laid in forks in the uprights, and the lower horizontal piece was tied to the uprights at the distance required. The warp was usually composed of a single continuous or knotted piece of yarn passed around and around the horizontal loom pieces. No comb or bat was used, apparently, and the woof was put through the warp by hand. The product of the Cayuá loom was a creditable article, nevertheless, and simple dyeing was practiced with several plant colors available. Women were, as they now are, the weavers of the Cayuá.[90]

Fishing lines, and cords and ropes for heavier purposes, were twisted from various vegetable fibers. Some of the ropes were strong enough to hold large animals when these were caught in nooses made from them. Since very early times the Cayuá have used metal obtained from European needles or other sources for fishhooks, so it is difficult to say what the aboriginal article may have been.

Cayuá tools and weapons included the bow and arrow, already mentioned. The bow was round in cross-section, and the arrows were two-feathered. Métraux mentions triple feathering of arrows for the Cayua,[91] but no other suggestion of this has been encountered, and it is not present in modern arrows. Clubs were formerly used by the Cayuá. Notched axes of stone and knives of bamboo are indicated,[92] but it is not known what form of aboriginal hoe or hoe-like implement was used, if any. The digging stick, or *tarakuá*, was the primary agricultural implement aboriginally, and possibly the only one; it is still in use today, not only by the Cayuá but by local Neo-Brazilians.

Cayuá men wore the long lip-stick or *tembeitá* ("lip-stone"), which in their case was customarily made of the translucent resin of a certain tree. This ornament and symbol of initiation and a man's status is still in use among some Cayuá, although modern examples appear to be shorter on the average than some of the extremely long ones reported for the past—up to thirty and more centimeters. Face painting for women and children is indicated for the

[88] Métraux, 1928, p. 150. [89] *Ibid.*, p. 232.

[90] The weaving of cotton was one of the household industries of Guaraní women of which the Jesuits have made considerable mention in connection with the economic organization of the missions. Some of this production was apparently sold on the outside, and the priests seem to have made much effort to inculcate the industry in their female wards.

[91] Métraux, 1928, p. 75. [92] *Ibid.*, pp. 98-99.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

177 home-made product turned out today, these breeches have completely non-
291 functional strings at the bottom, below the calf, as if intended for use with (non-existent) stockings, boots, or puttees. The Cayuá do not even tie the "vestigial" leg strings but let them hang free. Men's shirts generally follow what was probably some former long-sleeved European model. They do not open completely in front, being only partly cut down from the neck.

Women wear sack-like dresses of store cloth, which may not be entirely different from the so-called *tipói* dress of aboriginal times. They correspond generally to the shapeless "Mother Hubbards." There may be some influence here from the dresses introduced by the Jesuits.

177 Men's belts are woven much as formerly, but the material is now more often
178 *caraguatá* fiber than native cotton—despite the fact that a belt of cotton is usually preferred.[38] In spite of the preference for cotton, however, practically
286 none of it is raised now by the Cayuá at Taquapiri. The laborsome use of
291 native cotton has been obviated by store-bought cloth in many respects other than belts, and the fiber of the wild *caraguatá* will serve the few remaining purposes of the domestic textile plant.

Caraguatá fiber is now used almost exclusively for making hammocks, although some informants insisted that the cotton hammock was preferable. Except for present tying of hammocks and weaving of belts, nothing survives of the aboriginal textile art, which supposedly had once attained a modest development among the Cayuá.

178 Various wild fibers are still twisted to make lines for fishing and cords for
824 heavier purposes, but human hair is no longer used to make belts or wristlets
283 and anklets. *Caraguatá*, *pindó* palm, and *mbokadjá* fibers are the most fre-
297 quently used today.

178 The lip stick, or *tembeté*, of resin is still in use at Taquapiri, and an initia-
881 tion of a number of boys took place shortly prior to our arrival in the village in
304 1943. The main feature of the initiation is the perforation of the lower lip for the insertion of the *tembeté*. However, Taquapiri is reputedly alone among the Cayuá villages of its immediate neighborhood in conserving this trait; the *tembeté* has been completely abandoned among the younger men of the village where the SPI post "Benjamin Constant" is located, near União. Even at Taquapiri, moreover, there are several young men, long past the age of lip perforation, married and with children, who do not use the *tembeté* for never having been initiated. Their fellows twit them about being mere "boys," and they are said to be in special danger from jaguars, but it seems likely that they are only the first representatives at Taquapiri of what has been the trend away from the practice elsewhere among the Cayuá.

[825]

178 Face painting with *urucú*, a reddish plant substance widely used in South
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[38] One of the Cayuá women spied a large ball of cotton string we had and with considerable enthusiasm suggested making belts out of it, which they did.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

501 [171] rivers. They propel these craft with poles. The *Ceyué* of Brazil, who reside near larger streams, are good boatmen and travel a great deal in large dugouts, 8 to 12 feet (2.5 to 3.5 m.) long.

489 [285] **Carrying devices.**—Goods are carried in cylindrical or rectangular twilled baskets, reinforced with a wooden frame. *Paĕ* carrying baskets are relatively extensible and are made of intertwined pindo leaves, the midribs strengthening the whole structure. Carrying nets made of bark [177] strips were clearly introduced with the maté industry. The *Guaraní* skin [178] bag is certainly older than the net and appears to be an article that originated locally or was borrowed from tribes to the south.

482 854 Babies are ordinarily carried in a sling, straddling their mothers' hips, but they may be transported in baskets or in skin bags.

MANUFACTURES

285 [824] **Basketry.**—The *Guaraní* weave temporary baskets of the pinnae of pindo palms, the midrib serving to reinforce the rim. More permanent containers are made of twilled fabrics of tacuarembo strands. They are [531] ornamented with black, geometrical motifs.

•283 [824] **Spinning and weaving.**—Thread is made of cotton carded with a bow, or of *Bromelia*, nettle (*Urera grandifolia*), and palm (*Acrocomia totai*) fibers.

286 [293] [531] [356] [524] [178] [177] Cotton is spun with a drop spindle and woven on a vertical loom with a circular warp. Cloth is generally white with alternate brown and black stripes, dyed with the bark of *Peltophorum dubium* and *Trichilia catigua*. The technique of darning weft strands through warp elements attached to a vertical loom, though it has been observed in modern times, was probably an early practice abandoned when true weaving became general, probably through *Arawak* influence.

323 178 **Pottery.**—*Guaraní* ceramics are known through archeological finds in São Paulo, Rio Grande do Sul, near Asunción in the Argentine territory of Misiones, and on the island of Martín García. The largest specimens are funeral urns, which also served as beer containers. Small dishes and bowls have a white interior slip which bears sigmoid figures, curves, triangles, mazes, and "grecques." The large jars and ordinary ware have continuous rows of thumbnail or other impressions over their entire surface. The *Caingué*, who have practically given up pottery, make only a ware that is decadent in quality and shape. Bowls with a flaring base ("compotera" types) may perhaps be a survival of a pre-Columbian type.

415 **Leather work.**—The *Caingué* carry their small possessions in skin bags.

411 824 **Weapons.**—*Caingué* bows are made of palm wood, guayalkwi (*Patagoneula americana*), or ihvira payé, ihvira pepé (*Holocalyx balansae*). They are 6 to 8 feet (2 to 2.5 m.) long, circular or oval in cross section, and entirely or partially wrapped with guembé bark (*Philodendron* sp.)